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Hale and Shresthacharya (1973) deal with the classifier system of Newari in their quest for finding out whether Newari is a classifier language or not. In the course of their study they present what they call a tentative listing of the classifiers of the language. Sthapit's (1978) comparison of Newari, Nepali, and English deals with the classifier system of Newari and gives a semantic analysis of some nominal classifiers. He also identifies the presence of what he calls adverbial classifiers in the language.

The scope of the present paper[1] is to go more into the details of the classifier system of Newari. In the course of this analysis we deal with a good number of nominal and verbal classifiers as well. Since the 'qualitative' and 'quantitative' classifiers are very similar in many respects, a presentation of some of the more prominent quantitative classifiers (non-unit counters and quasi-unit counters in Greenberg's terminology (1972)) is also given. Several syntactic and semantic aspects of classifiers are also presented. The classifier system of Newari is represented in Table 1.

VERBAL CLASSIFIERS: Greenberg (1972: 30-1) deduces that "The logical possibility exists, then, that a language might have a system of verbal classifiers each of which would be used with a particular class of verbs and an accompanying numeral. However, this possibility never seems to be realized in the systematic way in which it so often is for nouns". "The distinction between mass and count then applies to verbal action

TABLE 1
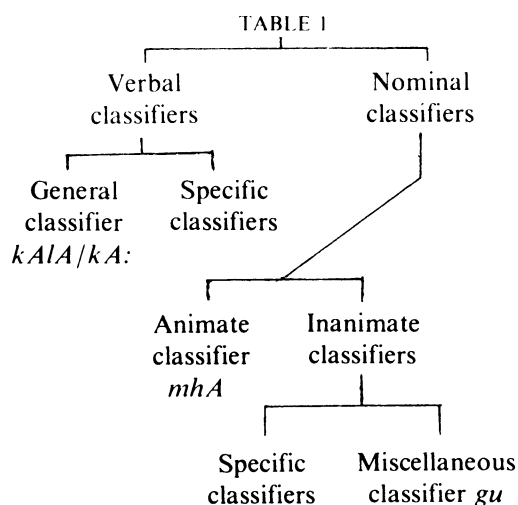
and is related to aspect. Durative : punctual = measure : count, 'He has been laughing for two minutes' versus 'He laughed twice'. There is the widespread phenomenon of "plural verbs" marking plural action as against a single act. Once again the abstract possibility of incorporating count distinction beyond the singular/plural dichotomy in the verb exists, e.g. a verbal form meaning 'to perform X three times' which does not seem to occur anywhere". However, such 'verbal' classifiers, though of a rudimentary nature, have been reported in Thai and Garo. In her analysis of Thai, Haas (1942:205) mentions, that "Another set of independent classifiers consist of words indicating how many times an event takes place. The most common of such words are *khráŋ?* and *hǒn* which may be used more or less interchangeably, e.g., khǎw wîŋ? sǒŋ-khráŋ?

or khăw wîŋʔ sɔ̌ŋ-hŏn 'he ran twice'." Similarly, Burling in his description of Garo says (1961:52) "caŋ- "used for repetitive actions, meaning just about what the English 'times' means. *caŋ-git-tam re'-aŋ-a-ha* '(he) went three times'."

The verbal classifiers of Thai and Garo are different from the 'verbal classifiers' of Amerinidian languages. The Amerindian verbal classifiers "show a type of nominal classification that is coded in the form of the verb" (Dixon 1982:223). For instance in Chipewyan, the verbal classifier -*tą* marks 'an empty container etc,' and -*łtą* marks 'a container with something in it'. t'listile θetą *there sits an empty box* VERSUS t'listile θełtą *there sits a box with something in it.* (Carter 1976:29).

The Newari verbal classifiers are used with numerals to count the number of times an activity is performed. This way these are similar to those of Garo and Thai but not those of Amerindian languages. The Amerindian verbal classifiers as in Chipewyan are part of the verb but classify the noun. They do not classify the verb. The Newari verbal classifiers classify verbs. We would consider the Newari verbal classifiers as the true type of verbal classifiers. Compare :

1. *ni-pu peti* (tow-cl belt) 'two belts'
2. *ni-dhu: wAlA* (two-cl came) '(somebody) came twice'.

Unlike the Amerindian 'verbal classifiers' a verbal classifier in Newari occupies exactly the same position as a nominal classifier does. It comes after a numeral and occurs with one or more verbs of a set. If it occurs with a set of verbs, all the verbs of that set will have some semantic feature common.[2]

Four verbal classifers that are somewhat productive and four other verbal classifiers that can occur with one verb each are available in Newari. The verbal classifier kAlA/lA: is the most frequent one which can be used in the place of any other verbal classifier.

3. wA chA-kA: wAlA (he one-cl came) 'He came once'
4. wA ni-kA: wAnA (he two-cl went) 'He went twice'

The other verbal classifiers are listed below :

1. dhuli/dhu:[3] This occurs with four verbs that denote 'deictic locomotion'. The verbs are *wA*- 'to come', *wAn*- 'to go', *chwA*- 'to send', *hA*- 'to bring',.

5. wA chA-dhu: wAlA (he one-cl come) 'He came once'
6. wA ni-dhu: wAnA (he two-cl went) 'He went twice'
7. wÃ: chA-dhu: chwAlA (he-agentive one-cl sent) 'He sent once'
8. wÃ: ni-dhu: hAlA (he-agentive two-cl brought) 'He brought twice'
9. wA dhu-wÃ-dhu: wAlA (he cl-and-cl came) 'He came again and again'
10. chA-dhuli swArka bi: (one-cl three rupees give-I) 'I shall give three rupees for coming/going/sending/or bringing once'

In 10 above, the concerned verb is deleted and one of the four verbs from this set could be supplied here depending on the context. This classifier occurs also with the verb *lhyA*- 'to carry a load' : *wÃ ni-dhu: ca lhyAlA* (he-agentive two-cl clay carried) 'He carried clay two times'

2. thu This classifier is used with verbs that denote a sudden or momentary action. The verbs that are identified for this classifier are: *thwa*- 'to kick', *da*- 'to beat', *dA*- 'to fall down', *su*- 'to stab', *ta*- 'to bang in (like a nail into a wall)', *nAk*- 'to chop', *ghwa*- 'to push', *thatha ya*- 'to flick with finger', *sya*- 'to drink liquor (slang)', *musu-tA*- 'to cough'.

3. dhalA/dha: and nhuli/nhu: These two classifiers have a common semantic range. They occur with verbs of washing, rubbing, treading, and kneading. E.g., *chA-dha:/nhu: tha*- (one-cl/cl apply soap) 'to apply soap once while washing'. The following verbs belong here : *tha*- 'to apply soap while

washing', *ca-* 'to wash body or clothes', *nha-* 'to knead', *nhu-* 'to tread'.

4. jhalA/jha: This occurs when the verb denotes a sustained activity or state undergone one or more times during a definite period of time.

  11. wA chA-jha: AsyA: julA (he one-cl mad became) 'He became mad once'

  12. wAngu lae wA chA-jha: Aela:gulu julA (last month he one-cl drunkard became) 'He became a drunkard once during the last month'

  13. wAngu bArkha: thwA swa:mae chA-jha: yekkwA swa: whAlA (last summer this plant one-cl many flowers gave)

  'During last summer this plant gave many flowers once'

5. talA/ta: This occurs with the verb *da-* 'to beat'. However, the classifier imposes the meaning 'beating mildly as in a play' on the verb. The same verb can take another classifier *thu* to mean 'beat hard'. *chA-ta: da-* 'to beat mildly once as in play (the beatings are used in the place of bets)', *chA-thu da-* 'to beat hard once'.

6. si: This is a reduplicative classifier used with the verb *si-* 'to fry': *ni-si: la si-* (two-cl meat fry) 'to fry meat twice'.

7. hilA/hi: A reduplicative classifier used with the verb *hi:ke-* 'to turn': *chA-hi: la hi:ke-* (one-cl meat turn) 'to turn once to mix while frying meat'.

8. tu A reduplicative classifier used with the verb *tu-* 'to scoop out' : *ni-tu cini tu-* (two-cl sugar scoop out) 'to scoop out sugar twice'

9. kAlA/kA: This is the most general verbal classifier and can be used with all the verbs. It can be used in the place of all the verbal classifiers mentioned above except *jhalA/jha:.*

  5. wA ni-kA: wAnA (he two-cl went) 'He went twice'

  6. wA ni-dhu: wAnA (he tow-cl went) 'He went twice'

NOMINAL CLASSIFIERS: The major distinction among the nominal classifiers in this language is between animate and inanimate. The classifier for animate nouns is *mhA.* Under this category of 'animate', besides animate beings, personified objects such as dolls, sweet meat items shaped as animate beings, and also super natural beings are included. An interesting feature is that in the case of animate nouns, no further classification is done on any basis like shape, size etc. Several other classifier languages have different classifiers for animate beings. E.g., Thaayorre, an Australian language has *yak* 'snake', *yak ŋompor* 'brown snake' *ru.r̃ ŋompor* 'centipede' (Dixon 1980: 226.) In Burmese, the classifier for long objects also goes with long living beings like snakes (Pe 1965). Compare this with Newari :

  14. chA-mhA bi (one-cl snake) 'one snake'

  15. chA-ha bi (one-cl for long objects snake) 'one long piece of a snake'

In the classification of nominal classifiers, the animate classifier *mhA* and the miscellaneous inanimate classifer *gu* are separated from the rest of the specific inanimate classifiers. *mhA* and *gu* are peculiar in their nature. These are the only nominal classifiers that cannot be reduplicated and placed after the noun. E.g.,

  16. ni-pwA tã:k(pwA) (two-cl button(cl)) 'two buttons'

The classifier *pwA* can be optionally used after the noun *ta:k* 'button' without any change in meaning. Compare:

  17. ni-mhA sAlA (two-cl horse) 'two horses'

  18. ni-mhA sAlA-mhA (two-cl horse-body) 'two bodies of dead horses'

17 means 'two horses' whereas 18 means 'two dead bodies of horses'. Hence the occurrence of *mhA* after the noun in 18 cannot be interpreted as a case of reduplication of the classifier.

mhA and *gu* are also used as pronominal

suffixes. Hale (1970) calls them 'connectors' in one of their pronominal functions. Their functions are to derive nouns from adjectives and verbs, to act as connectors (C) after some classifiers, and to derive ordinals from Num-cl sequences.

> ha:ku 'black' : ha:ku-mhA 'the black one (animate)', ha:ku-gu 'the black one (inanimate)'
>
> wan-'to come' : wa:mhA 'the one who came (animate)', wan-gu 'the one who came (inanimate)'
>
> tA: 'big' : tA:-pa-gu mAri (big-cl-C bread) 'big bread'
>
> thApae 'this big' : thApae-phwA:-gu swA (this big-cl-C flower) 'this big flower'
>
> ni-kha chĕ (two-cl house) 'two houses' : ni kha-gu-chĕ (two-cl-C house) 'the second house'
>
> ni-gu ga: (two-cl village) 'two villages' : ni-gu-gu-ga: (two-cl-C village) 'the second village'
>
> ni-mhA mAca (two-cl child) 'two children' : ni-mhA-mhA mAca (two-cl-C child) 'the second child'

The most common position of a classifier in Newari is immediately after a numeral that precedes the noun in a noun phrase. The Num-cl sequence is a close-knit unit. Dixon (1982:212) noted that "the specific noun itself is never known to intrude between numeral and classifier". Besides the noun, no other element, nor even particles like the emphatic particle which are relatively free can intrude between the numeral and the classifier in Newari. However, some verbal classifiers seem to enjoy more freedom than the nominal classifiers. For instance, the verbal classifier *dhuli/dhu:* can be repeated and the conjoining particle *wÃ* be inserted in between the repeated classifiers. In fact, no numeral precedes the classifier here :

> 9. wA dhu-wÃ-dhu: wAlA (He cl-and-cl came) 'He came again and again'

There are, however, some restrictions on the numerals that can precede a classifier.

Greenberg (1972:6) observes that "It is particularly common for classifiers not to occur with higher units of the numerical system and their multiples e.g., 10, 20, 60, 100, 300". Burling (1965:259) notes some restrictions on the usage of classifiers with higher numerals in Burmese and explains that it is due to the concept that higher numbers might indicate groups but not single individuals : "On the other hand, classifiers which indicate higher numbers, weights, and measures, piles, bunches, etc....and a few of those which stand for animals and people, just as clearly show that the things are not single individuals but are groups, or parts, or amounts, measured out from some substance."

In Newari, higher numerals like 100, 1000 are preferably used without classifiers though the use of a classifier with them is not disallowed. But, interestingly, a numeral like 101, or 1002 will *obligatorily* require a classifier. This means that it is not the higher numerical *value* that makes the use of classifiers optional here. The numeral component that immediately precedes the classifier determines the optionality versus obligatoriness of the classifier. E.g.,

> '200' ni-sA (-mhA) sa (two-hundred(-cl) cow) 'two hundred cows'
>
> '201' ni-sA-wA-chA-mhA sa (two-hundred-and-one-cl cow) 'two hundred and one cows'
>
> '2000' ni-dwA(-mhA) sa (two-thousand (-cl)cow) 'two thousand cows'
>
> 2002' ni-dwA-wA-ni-mhA sa (two-thousand-and-two-cl cow) 'two thousand and two cows'

Greenberg (1972:29) notes that classifier languages have certain sets of nouns that do not require classifiers. He mentions that such nouns "include words like 'day', 'month', 'time' (in phrases corresponding to English 'three times'), 'foot', 'mile' and currency expressions". He explains that "these all can be interpreted as measures". Dixon

(1982:213) mentions that "Almost every language with classifiers has some nouns that do not occur with any classifier. We often find that the names of time units and/or uncountable nouns are not classified ...". In Newari, in the case of a small set of nouns, the numeral directly precedes the noun; no classifier is required after the numeral. The nouns that belong to this set stand for the following: measure words (bottle, packet etc); units of time (month, fortnight, year); parts of day (day, night); traditional measures of weight (as opposed to modern standard measures); conventional relative measures of length (as opposed to absolute measurements); and the noun meaning 'family'.

Another peculiarity with the nouns of this set is that the numerals 'two' and above are placed before the noun whereas the numeral 'one' is placed after the noun. Besides, the form *chi* for 'one' is used in this context in the place of *chA* which is used elsewhere. E.g., *dA-chi* (year-one) 'one year', *chA-gu-gã:* (one-cl-village) 'one village', *ni-dA* (two-year) 'two years', *ni-gu gã:* (two-cl village) 'two villages'.

Dixon (1982:212) notes that "In some languages classifiers can occur only in numeral constructions (e.g., Indonesian), but in others they are also used with demonstratives". In Newari, besides the regular numerals that require a classifier, the adjectives *tA:* 'big', *ci:* 'small', demonstrative and interrogative adjectives that denote quantity and number require a classifier. The demonstrative and interrogative adjectives that require classifiers are the following: *thApae* 'this big', *Apae* 'that big', *gApae* 'how big'; *thwA:* 'this many', *wA:* 'that many', *gwA:* 'how many'. E.g.,

   tA:-pa-gu mAri (big-cl-C bread) 'big bread'
   ci:-pa-gu mAri (small-cl-C bread) 'small bread'
   thApae-phwA:-gu swA (this big-cl-C

flower) 'flower this big'
   Apae-kha-gu chẽ (that big-cl-C house) 'house that big'
   gApae-ma-gu ghãẽ (how big-cl-C grass) 'how big grass'
   thwA:-ma swã (this many-cl plant) 'this many plants'
   wA:-phuti da:g (that many-cl spot) 'that many spots'
   gwA:-pa: lApte (how many-cl leaf) 'how many leaves'

Some nouns require the miscellaneous classifier *gu* as in *ni-gu sAphu:* (two-cl book) 'two books'. When such nouns take the adjectives *tA:* 'big' or *ci:* 'small', the classifier *rhÃ* is used in the place of *gu*. E.g.,

   ni-gu sAphu: (two-cl book) 'two books'
   ni-gu tA:-rhÃ-gu sAphu: (two-cl big-cl-C book) 'two big books'

Note that *gu* in *ni-gu* above is a classifier and the *gu* in *tA:-rhÃ-gu* is a connector.

There are four such morphemes that can intervene between the adjectives *tA:* 'big' and *ci:* 'small' and a classifier. They are: *rhi:, ja:, ji,* and *rhÃ*. These intervening morphemes specify further quality/qualities of the nouns they modify. *rhi:* is used for 'height or length of an animate being', *ja:* for 'height or length of an inanimate being', *ji* for 'standard of quality of a non-human (animate or inanimate)', and *rhÃ* for 'status, quality, standard of a human'. E.g.,

   tA:-rhi:-mhA sa (big-height-C cow) 'a tall cow'
   ci:-rhi:-mhA mAnu (small-height-C person) 'a short person'
   tA:-ja:-gu almari (big-height-C cupboard) 'a tall cupboard'
   ci:-ji-gu almari (small-height-C cupboard) 'a short cupboard'
   tA:-rhÃ-mhA mAnu (big-status-C perosn) 'a person of high status'

Num-cl N is the most preferred order in a sentence. However, N Num-cl sequence is also allowed. E.g., *ni-mhA khica* (two-cl dog) or *khica ni-mhA* (dog two-cl)

'two dogs'.

Earlier we noted that in the case of a small set of nouns, the numeral directly precedes the noun and that no classifier is required after the numeral. In such cases the order of Num-N is rigid and we cannot have N-Num. Hence *ni-dA* (two-year) 'two years' but not *dA-ni* (year-two).

There is a good amount of freedom as far as the occurrence of Num-cl sequence within a clause is concerned. But this sequence cannot be separated from its N across clauses. Observe :

    19. *che wAne   dhunkali,*
       home coming after
       1   2   3
       'After coming home,
             ra:mÃ: ni-pa-mAri nAlA
             Rama two-cl-bread ate
             4   5   6   7
             Rama ate two flat breads'

The possible permutations involving 4, 5 and 6 in the above sentence are : 1-2-3, 4 6 5 7/ 1-2-3, 5 4 6 7/ 1-2-3, 6 4 5 7/ 1-2-3, 5 6 4 7/ and 5-6, 1-2-3, 4 7. But the following permutations are not permitted as they involve a clause separating Num-cl from the concerned noun.: *5,, 1-2-3, 4 6 7/ *6, 1-2-3, 4 5 7.

Two Num-cl sequences cannot be interchanged within a sentence :

    20. *ra:mÃ: ni-mhA mAcAtAyatA*
       Rama two-cl children-Dat
       1   2   3
       'Rama fed two flat *maris*
             ni-pa mAri bilA
             two-clbread fed
             4   5   6
             to two children'

Though the permutations 1 4-5 2-3 6/ 2-3 1 4-5 6/ 4-5 1 2-3 6 are allowed, the following are some of the disallowed ones : 1 2 4 3 5 6/ 1 2 4 5 3 6/ 1 4 2 3 5 6/ 1 4 2 5 3 6.

Most of the classifiers are reduplicable i.e., they can be repeated after the concerned noun. E.g., *ni-phwA tã:k* (two-cl button)

and *ni-phwA tã:k-phwA* (two-cl button-cl) both mean 'two buttons'. However, the Num-cl N-cl forms are not preferred. Same is the case when a Num-cl and an adj-cl sequence precede the noun. Here too, the classifier can be repeated after the noun and such a form is not preferable. E.g.,

    ni-pa tA:-pa-gu swari (two-cl big-cl-C
      swari) 'two big flat *swaris'*
    ni-pa tA:-pa-gu swari-pa (two-cl big-cl-C
      swari-cl) 'two big flat *swaris'*

Repetition of a classifier with a noun is used to bring in emphasis. Such repetitions are used in platform speeches for rhetorical purposes. A reduplicated classifier should be kept distinct from similar morphemes which have different meanings. Observe :

    21. ni-pa tuti (two-cl leg) 'two legs'
    22. ni-pa tutipa (two-cl foot) 'two feet'

    23. ni-mhA sAlA (two-cl horse) 'two
      horses'
    24. ni-mhA sAlAmhA (two-cl horse-body)
      'two bodies of dead horses'

The *pa* in *tutipa* in 22 cannot be treated as a reduplicated classifier because it means 'foot' whereas *tuti* as in 21 means 'leg'. For similar reasons, sAlA-mhA 'body of a dead horse' cannot be analysed as an N-cl sequence.

A reduplicatied classifier should be kept distinct from a measure word. As noted earlier, a numeral occurs immediately preceding a measure word and no classifier is needed in such cases. Compare 25 with 26:

    25. ni-pwA: duru (two-packet milk) 'two
      packets of milk'
    26. ni-pwA: duru-pwA: (two-cl breast)
      'two breasts'

The *pwA:* of *ni-pwA:* in 26 is a classifier whereas the *pwA:* in 25 is a measure word meaning 'a packet'.

The noun of a 'Num-cl Noun' sequence can be optionally dropped if it is understood from the context. E.g., *ni-phwA: (hira) hi:* (two-cl (diamond) give) 'Give two (diamonds)' Similar cases of deletion of nouns is

noted by Dixon (1982-216): "In conversational Thai, for instance,a specific noun will usually be omitted if no ambiguity is likely...". As noted earlier, in Newari, even a verb can be omitted this way, with the preceding Num-verbal classifier sequence kept intact; recall 10:

> 10. chA-dhuli swArka bi: (one-cl three rupees give-I)
>
> 'I shall give three rupees for coming /going/sending/or bringing once'

Some nouns function as their own classifiers. These are repeater classifiers. Hale and Shresthacharya (1973:17) call them reduplicate classifiers. E.g., *ni-sA sA* (two-cl voice) 'two voices'. The following nouns act as repeater classifiers: *ku:* 'piece', *ga:* 'pit', *ca:* 'ring', *jha:* 'bush', *ti* 'stitch', *dha:* 'downward stream of a liquid', *dhwA:* 'line', *pAu* 'letter', *pa* 'feather', *pa* 'axe', *pi* 'umbilical cord', *pwa:* 'hole', *phi* 'thickness',*ma* 'plant', *ma:* 'garland', *mhe* 'gunny sac', *sA* 'voice', *si:* 'one of the eight parts of the head of a sacrificial animal', *swA* 'bird nest', *hwA* 'hole'.

There are a few classifiers, each of which can occur with only one noun. Hale and Shresthacharya (1973:17) list the following classifiers in this class: Cl. *kha* for *chẽ* 'house' *duwa:* for *lukha* 'gate', *ku:* for *gha:* 'wound', *pwa:* for *mata* 'lamp', *ta* for *mari* 'pastry', *tha* for *puja* 'worship', *ti* for *tAla* 'arrow'. The following are some additional such classifiers: *khA* for *ja* 'cooked rice', *pi* for *bu* 'field', *phA:* for *la* 'meat', *phÃ* for *kera* 'banana', *bye* for *gwa:* 'betel'.

Dixon (1982) says that "both noun class markers and classifiers "often do carry a further semantic load sometimes distinguishing between homonyms...". In Newari, too, the meanings of some homonyms can be clarified by the accompanying classifier. Hale and Shresthacharya (1973:7-8) list 14 such sets. The following are some additional homonymous sets along with the required classifiers:

kAsa: 'a round sweet dish' (Cl: *gA:*)

'a person of Kasa caste (Cl: *mhA*)

E.g., *ni-ga: kAsa:* 'two round sweet dishes'; *ni-mhA kAsa:* 'two persons of *Kasa* caste'

nhãẽkA:	'a looking glass' (Cl: *pa:*) 'a nettle plant' (Cl: *ma*)
nA:s	'snuff' (Cl: *puti*); 'a wall plate' (Cl: *gA*)
nAu	'a lengthy piece of rope' (Cl: *ha:*) : 'a person of *nAu*(barber) caste' (Cl : *mhA*).
si	'a louse' (Cl: *mhA*); 'a fruit' (Cl: *gA:*); 'a river bank' (Cl: *gu*).
pila	'a wooden seat' (Cl: *gu*); 'a small wooden box' (Cl: *gA:*).
kAu	'a cowrie' (Cl: *gA:*); 'a person of kAu (blacksmith) caste' (Cl: *mhA*).
ha	'a bee' (Cl: *mhA*); 'a piece of root' (Cl: *ku:*).
mala	'a mat' (Cl: *pa:*); 'a female Buddhist'(Cl: *mhA*).
si:	'a piece of wax (Cl: *ku:*); 'one of the eight parts of the head of a sacrificial animal' (Cl: *si:*).

It is widely held that classifiers are meaning based. Dixon (1982) mentions that classifiers "do 'have meaning'" and "at the least, they indicate the categorization of an object in terms of the relevant parameters of world-view". Adams and Conklin (1973:1) offer a semantic definition of classifiers as "The numeral classifier system is one of several semantically based classificatory systems which natural languages exhibit". Most of the classifiers in Newari too are semantically controlled. As mentioned earlier the major distinction among nominal classifiers is between animate and inanimate entitites. A further distinction among inanimates by specific classifiers as opposed to the miscellaneous classifier *gu* is possible. Within these specific classifiers, sometimes meaning does not seem to be the actual controller of the selection of further specification of individual classifiers.

Two such classifiers are found in the data whose selection is controlled by the shape of the concerned noun rather than by the meaning of the concerned noun. Observe :

27a. ni-kha cApa:-chẽ   dunA
     two-cl community-house fell down
              hall
     'Two community halls collapsed'
27b. ni-gu cApa: dunA
     two-cl community fell down
              hall
     'Two community halls collapsed'
28a. wÃ: ni-kha   sAtA:-chẽ dAnA
     he two-cl   inn -house built
     'He built to inns'
28b. wÃ: ni-gu sAtA: dAnA
     he two-cl inn   built
     'He built two inns'
29a. ni-hA: kera-hA: (two-cl banana-leaf)
          'two banana leaves'
29b. ni-pa: kera-lApte (two-cl
          banana-leaf) 'two banana leaves'

27a and 27b are same in meaning; so also 28a and 28b, and 29a and 29b. The classifier in 27a is *kha* whereas it is *gu* in 27b, though both of them cooccur with a noun that means 'community hall'. In 27a the compound noun *cApa:-chẽ* contains the noun *chẽ*. This *chẽ* attracts its unique classifier *kha*. In 27b the noun *cApa:* is used without *chẽ* accompanying it and consequently the general inanimate classifier *gu* is used. Similar is the case with 28a and 28b. The compound noun in 29a *kera-hA:* 'banana leaf' contains the noun *hA:* which requires the repeater classifier *hA:*, whereas in 29b, the compound noun *kera-lApte* contains the noun *lApte* 'leaf'. This noun attracts the classifier *pa:* but not *hA:*. Thus though the nouns in 29a and 29b have exactly the same meaning, different classifiers are used with them. This is done on the basis of the shape of the noun element that immediately precedes the classifier but not on the basis of the meaning of the whole nominal element.

The view that classifier selection is not entierly meaning-based receives further support from the use of classifiers with higher numerals. It was mentioned earlier that the higher numerals 100 and 1000 do not preferably accept a classifier. It was pointed out that it is not the higher numerical value that matters in the optional or obligatory selection of a classifier. Observe :

a

Classifier not preferred with

sA	'100'
ni-sA	'200'
(2-100)	
dwA	'1000'
ni-dwA	'2000'
(2-1000)	

b

Classifier is obligatory with

sA-wA-chA	'101'
(100-and-1)	
ni-sA-wA-chA	'201'
(2-100-and-1)	
dwA-wA-ni	'1002'
(1000-and-2)	
ni-dwA-wA-ni	'2002'
(2-1000-and-2)	

A classifier is not preferred if it has to be adjacent to either *sA* '100' or *dwA* '1000' (as in a). It is obligatory if these two numerals do not become adjacent to the classifier as in b.

The Num-cl sequence can be augmented with another morpheme. The morpheme that can occur in this position is either a case suffix or a fractional *tya* or *jA:chi*. The past tense suffix allomorph *lA* also can occur after a classifier but this will be explained as due to the deletion of an underlying verb.

(a) The case suffix that belongs to a noun can be placed after the concerned Num-cl if the noun is transposed to the left of the Num-cl.

Num-cl N-case suffix		N Num-cl-case suffix
ni-phwA tã:kh two-cl button	'two buttons'	*tã:kh ni-phwA*
ni-phwA tã:khA-: Instr. case	'with two buttons'	*tã:kh ni-phwAlA-:*
ni-phwA tã:khA-e Loc. case	in two buttons'	*tã:kh ni-phwAlA-e*
ni-phwA tã:khA-tA: Dat. case	'to two buttons'	*tã:kh ni-phwA-tA:*
ni-phwA tã:kh-ya Gen. case	'of two buttons'	*tã:kh ni-phwA-ya*

(b) The fractionals *tya* 'one half' and *jA:chi* 'one fourth' occur after a classifier.

   ni-gA: tya Ã: (two-cl-one-half mango)
   two and half mangoes'

   ni-gA:-jA:chi Ã: (two-cl-one-fourth mango)
   'two and a quarter mango'

We have seen above that a case suffix can follow a classifier. A case suffix can further be added to the Num-cl-fractional sequence.

   phAsi ni-gA:-tya-e (pumpkin two-cl-one half-Loc. suffix)
      'among two and half pumpkins'

(c) Sharma (1979:228) had opined that classifiers like *thu, pa, phwA:* can become verbal in function when they are preceded by the adjectives *tA:* 'big' and *ci:* 'small'. Consequently, he says, they take tense suffixes like the past tense suffix. For instance, *pwA:*, the classifier for flowers etc., according to him, gives rise to a verb *pwAye* meaning 'to become flower-like etc.'

   30. *swÃ tA: phwA:* (flower big-cl) 'a big flower'

   31. *swÃ tA:-phwA-lA* (flower-big-verb)
      'The flower became big'

-*lA* is one of the allomorphs of the past tense suffix. But a further examination reveals that 31 has an alternant 31a.

   31a. *swÃ tA:-pwA: ju-lA* (flower big-cl become-past)
      'The flower became big'

31 and 31a are identical in meaning. This is the case with all other such classifiers which on the surface receive the past suffix -*lA*. Hence, we propose that all the surface instances of a classifier 'receiving' a tense marker should be treated as the products of an optional deletion of an underlying verb *ju-* 'to become' which originally precedes the tense marker.

Following is a presentation of the various nominal classifers of the language.

1. pu used with nouns that denote thin and long objects. E.g., suka 'thread', khipA: 'rope', sikhA: 'chain', ta:r 'wire', sÃ 'strand of hair', jAni: 'waist band', peti 'belt', kAthi 'stick', sisakAlAm 'pencil', kera 'banana'.

It is also used with nouns that denote thin and long objects which have some width too: ga 'shawl', silA: 'quilt', tAñna 'bedsheet', rA:g 'blanket', mAndi 'a type of blanket', dhoti 'dhoti', radi 'rug'.

As noted by Hale and Shresthacharya, it is also used with nouns denoting abstract literary forms which are supposed to be long: mye 'song' cina khÃ 'poem' bakhÃ 'story', bakhÃ mye 'ballad'. A similar case in Trascan is reported in Friedrich (1970: 384) : "In Trascan, the one-dimensional classifier regularly replaces words such as those

meaning 'tree, worm, penis, corncob, key', and most animal names. The same classifier replaces the word for 'story', presumably because of some mental image of protraction".

However, the borrowed word *upanyas* 'novel' does not take this classifier in Newari. It takes the miscellaneous inanimate classifier *gu*.

pu is also used as a reduplicative classifier with nouns denoting seeds of fruits (not grains): ni-pu phAsi-pu (two-cl pumpkinseed) 'two pumpkin seeds', tusi-pu 'cucumber seeds', Ã:-pu 'mango seeds', sAntrasi-pu 'orange seeds'.

2. twa: and ha: We have noted that *pu* is used as a classifier for thin and long objects. The classifiers *twa:* and *ha:* are also used with such nouns. However, these three classifiers can be distinguished from each other on some semantic grounds.

pu basically has the numerical concept as the focus. It is used in counting one long object versus more such objects etc. E.g., chA-pu khipA: hi (one-cl rope give) 'Give one rope'.

twa: is used to denote pieces of longer objects: chA-twa: khipA: (one-cl rope) 'one piece of rope'. Suppose, we want a full size candle, then we say: *chA-pu main hi* (one-cl candle give) 'Give one candle stick'. But: *chA-twa: main hi* means 'Give a broken piece of candle stick'. We would say *chA-pu main* even if the candle is half-burnt. But *chA-twa: main* would mean 'a piece of candle stick which is broken or cut!'

ha: is used to denote a piece which is longer than *twa:*::ni-ha suka 'two longer pieces of thread', ni-twa: suka 'two shorter pieces of thread'. In the case of *ha:*, the piece could be a broken piece or an entire piece. *twa:* also functions as the classifier for the noun *pArsi* 'saree'. *ha:* also functions as a classifier for the noun *gAlli* 'narrow lane'.

3. tu is used with nouns denoting strands of threads that constitute a thicker thread:

ni-tu ka(tu) 'two fine threads'.

4. ka is used with the following three nouns: 1Ã 'short path (for longer paths *pu* is the classifer), sĩ 'piece of firewood'. It is also used with *lha* 'hand' when denoting hands of many handed statues or gods etc. jhi-ka lha: 'ten hands'. *lha:* would take the classifier pa meaning paired object in other contexts: chA-pa lha: 'one hand', ni-pa lha: 'two hands'.

5. ta and thi. *thi* stands for the number of types in a given group. *ta* stands for the total number of tokens in that group. Suppose 3 *laddus* (a kind of sweet dish) and 2 *julbis* (another kind of sweet dish) are grouped together. This is a group of *mAri* items. This group can be identified either as *ni-thi mAri* (two-cl *mAri* items) or as *nya-ta mAri* (five-cl *mAri* items). *ni-thi mAri* means the group of sweets has two types viz., *laddus* and *julbis*. *nya-ta mAri* means that the group has five pieces viz., three pieces of *laddus* and two pieces of *julbis*.

With reference to mass nouns, such a distinction cannot be maintained. For instance, *ghasa* 'a sauce item' can be only one item irrespective of the quantity or the number of times it is served. So one can say *ni-ta ghasa* or *ni-thi ghasa* to mean 'two types of sauce items'.

The classifier *ta* is also used for 'castes, matters' etc. *thi* cannot be used here. ni-ta jati 'two castes', chA-ta khÃ 'one matter'.

6. pwAlA/pwA: This is used with nouns denoting soft packets, blisters, soft protruberances and breasts. E.g., durupwA: 'breast', khaipwA: 'gall bladder',

7. phwAlA/phwA: Hale and Shreshtacharya (1973:16) describe this classifier to be occurring with noun heads that refer to flower-shaped objects. It is however found that this is used also with nouns that denote objects that are attached to the tip of a rod or a stalk. E.g., swã: 'flower', hitiphwA: 'water tap', hira 'diamond', mukhu 'bud', 1AwÃ: 'cloves', tã:kh 'button'.

8. kha used with the noun *chẽ* 'house' only.

9. cakAlA/cakA:/ca: This occurs with nouns denoting ring shaped objects with a small or a large opening in the center. E.g., sel 'spring roll', ghA:ca: 'toy wheel', tenis-ring 'ring tennis ring', pyAca: 'a ring used as a base for jars', mAndA 'halo around sun or moon', makuli 'ear ring', ca:ca 'ear ring smaller than *makuli*'.

Except the noun *makuli* 'ear ring', all the other nouns denoting ring shaped orna-ments take the classifier *patA/pa:* E.g., Angu: 'signet ring', curi 'bangle', kAlli 'anklet'. The noun selwA: 'a type of roun-dish *mAri* item' takes this classifier as well as the classifier *pa*.

10. gAlA/gA: or **gwAlA/gwA:** These two classifiers seem to be interchangeable. How-ever, *gA:* is more commonly used. Accord-ing to Hale and Shareshtacharya both of these are used interchangeably with round objects. The following groups of **nouns** require these classifiers.

(a) Spherical or spheroid : prithbi 'earth', bhAtungwara 'ball', pwApwA:ca 'balloon', ci:, 'bulb', nAgu 'star'.

b) Containers with rigid walls (as oppo-sed to those with collapsable walls like 'bags') : sAndu: 'big wooden box', kAntur 'small wooden box', dAraj 'shelf', gilas 'glass', almari 'cupboard', tū: 'well'. Some consider that *tebAl* 'table' and *baeg* 'hand bag' also take this classifier.

(c) Globular or cylindrical fruits, vegeta-bles, and grains : phAsi 'pumpkin', alu 'potato', bhyuphAsi 'water melon', pwatyaca 'turnip', gwAl bhera 'tomato', pyaj 'onion', tusi 'cucumber', bhanta 'brinjal', jaki 'rice', chwA 'wheat', bA:si 'peach', sAntrasi 'orange', nAnkya: 'coconut', da:kh 'grape', kAegu 'pea', musya 'soya bean', tu: 'mustard'.

(d) Poles, cylindrical objects and stuffed objects : lAttha 'pole', dhArA:ra 'the Dhar-ara pillar in Kathmandu', ghAntaghAr 'the

Ghantaghar pillar of Kathmandu', kutub minar 'the Kutub Minar pillar in India', yA: sĩ 'long woooden pole', phungA 'pillow'.

(e) Some house parts : pA:kha: 'wall', thã: 'pillar', bi:m 'beam', dhAñ: 'ceiling', khAgA: 'railing'.

(f) Spheroid or glandular parts of body : chyÃ: 'head', mikha 'eye', mAnca 'chin', kAnthi 'adam's apple', bhwAri 'belly', mAca chye 'pregnant womb', gAuca 'ankle', gwali 'heel', kAi 'pimple', kwa: 'stomach'.

(g) Musical instruments having big roun-dish resonators : dhemAe 'big drum', nAg-Ara 'big drum', kanta: dAbdAb *'damaru'*, tAbla *'tabla'*, harbin 'harmonium', sitar *'sitar'*, sarAngi ' *sarangi'*, bhailin 'violin'. Musical instruments which do not have such resonators do not take this classifier. E.g., mwa:li *'sehnai'*, bhusya 'cymbal'.

(h) Tools with spheroid or cube like heads or knobs : mugA 'hammer', bAsila 'carpen-ter's adge', khAtã mugA: 'wooden clod breaker'.

(i) Utensils and pots : takya 'frying pan', kAsA:ri 'brass cooker', khwAla 'bowl', barca 'cup', ghA: 'pitcher'.

(j) enclosed vehicles : bA:s 'bus', rel 'train', ka:r 'car', jAhaj 'ship', stimAr 'steamer'.

(k) spheroid or cubsih sweet meat or bak-ery items : lAddu *'laddu'* pyara ' *pedha'*, roth, alsahi, and kek 'cake'.

(l) Miscellaneous : ghAdi 'watch', lwÃ: 'stone', mwAtArsaikAl 'motor cycle', dheba 'pie (coin)'.

11. pa This classifier can occur with three groups of nouns :

(A) Nouns denoting sweet meat items and bakery items that do not take the classifier gA: take this classifier. Most of these signify sweet meat items that are prepared by press-ing, spreading, or layering of the dough or other raw materials. The following nouns denoting various such items are grouped here : puri, swari, marpa, cAtã: mari, lakha mAri, chucū: mAri, phini, pArõtha, nimki, dosa.

(B) Bricks, tiles and some moulded flat items : Appa 'brick', ãẽpa 'tile', kũ:pa 'corner tile', sApa 'cowdung cake', khAu 'oil cake', kwApu: 'spine tile'. Except *kwApu* all the other nouns in this group end in *-pa*. So, the classifier here can be considered as a partially reduplicated one.

(C) Paired objects : lha: 'hand', lha:pa 'palm', tuti 'leg', tutipa 'foot', nhãẽpÃ: 'ear', lAppa 'arm', lakã: 'shoe', khapa 'door'. *khapa* 'leaf of a double door' takes this classifier even in the case of single doors.

12. patA/pa: Hale and Shresthacarya grouped *pa:* and *pa* together and mentioned that both of them occur with what might be considered as flat objects. They further add that they do not occur interchangeably with the same noun heads, and that they had found no semantic way of predicting which noun head will occur with which of these classifers. (1973:15).

But by separating these two classifers, we can predict their occurrences. We have seen that *pa* occurs with nouns denoting flattish sweetmeat or bakery items, with nouns denoting bricks, tiles, and moulded flat objects, and with nouns denoting paired objects. On the other hand, *pa:* occurs with nouns denoting flat objects that are not eatables. E.g., bhwÃ: 'sheet of paper', hasa 'winnowing pan', nhãẽ kÃ 'mirror, glass pane', dAsAna 'cotton mattress', sukuli 'mat', carpatya 'straw and fiber mattress', kusa 'umbrella', mhica 'pocket', mhẽ 'gunny sac', khwa: 'face', lApte 'leaf'.

13. pa:kh/pa: This is used with nouns denoting preparations of items like clay, food. chA-pa: ca 'one preparation of clay'.

14. kuti/ku: Used with nouns that denote cuts on a body, scars, spots, scales. gha: 'cut, wound', khu: 'scar', da:g 'spot', bikhu: 'fish scale',twÃ 'dandruff', bukhu: 'dry layer of skin'.

15. pAta/pta Used with nouns denoting small round marks or pieces of objects.

sinA: 'vermillion mark', chap 'sandal paste mark', sitra 'decorative circular piece stitched on a saree'.

16. phuti/phti Used with nouns denoting small spots. da:g 'spot'.

17. ma Used with nouns signifying plants and trees. swã:ma 'flowering plant', ghãẽma 'grass plant'.

18. ma: Used for nouns denoting garlands. motima: 'pearl garland'.

19. pwatA/pwa: This is a unque classifier and comes only with the noun *mAtA* 'light'.

20.pwalA/pwa: and **hwA** Both these classifiers occur with nouns denoting 'holes'. With nouns denoting natural holes in the body such as 'nostrils' only *pwalA/pwa:* is used. With any other holes both *pwalA/pwa:* and *hwA* can be used.

21. dhwA: As a noun this means 'a line'. As a classifier it occurs with nouns that denote lines or line like things. sinca 'parting line in hair on the head', bhu: 'a stitching line'.

22. pi This is a reduplicative classifier and is used with nouns denoting heavy knives and trowels. nae-cupi 'butcher's knife', dAkA:mi cupi 'bricklayer's trowel', gwÃ: cupi 'heavy knife'.

23.phi this is a reduplicative classifier used with nouns denoting 'brooms': tuphi 'broom', cwaphi 'bamboo broom'.

24. gu This is a residue classifier. It is used with all other inanimate nouns that are not covered by other classifiers. It occurs with a wide range of nouns including those which denote abstract activities, concepts, geopolitical areas, natural phenomena, parts of bodies, ornaments, house parts, furniture items, tools etc. E.g., jya 'work', bAcÃ, 'word', gã 'village', khusi 'river', kAcca 'branch', hu:p 'branch', kwAtha 'room',mec 'chair', kA:ti 'saw', pAsA: 'shop'.

25. mhA This is the only classifier that is used with nouns denoting animate beings (including very small insects and germs), personified objects such as dolls, sweet items

shaped as animals, and ghosts. E.g., sAlA 'horse', mAnu 'man', sApani 'small red ant', kita:nu 'germ', kAtãmAri 'doll', mAriyam-hAnya 'fish shaped sweet', si:k 'ghost', ma:yo-ba:yo 'father and mother dolls made of dough'.

The following classifiers are used with nouns signifying 'groups or sets of objects which do not have specific numbers'. These are called 'non-unit counters' by Greenberg (1972).

26. thu Used for small tied bundles of plants and vegetables. *thu* denotes thinner bundles whereas another classifier *kAle* denotes larger ones. There can be several *thu* bundles in one *kAle* bundle. E.g., ni-thu pAlA: 'two bundles of spinach', chA-thu cAsu: 'a bundle of mustard plants', chA-thu gajAr a 'bundle of carrots'.

27. kAle Used for thicker bundles of plants, flowers, vegetables, straw and fire-wood. E.g., tu 'sugarcane', tĩ 'willow wands', swã 'flowers', phakÃ 'lettuce', su 'straw', chwali 'wheat stalks'.

28. jwãẽ Used for clusters of fruits, grains on a single stalk, and collections of orna-ments. E.g., chwA 'stalk of wheat grains', tisa 'ornaments'.

29. pwAlA/pwA: Denotes bundles of soft and flexible materials like cloth, paper cover-ed from all sides. This functions as a regular classifier also. E.g., bhwÃ 'paper', kapA: 'clothes', wAsA: 'dress', mAri 'bread'.

30. pwãẽ Stands for slightly large tuft or bunch of things like hair, thread, plants, long worms, keys. Bunches thinner than these are donoted by the classifier pũĩ. E.g., chA-pwãẽ sÃ 'one tuft of hair, dari 'beard', sÃẽ 'muscle fibre', tar 'wire', suka 'thread', khipA 'rope', su 'straw', pAlA: 'spinach', uni 'wool', dAlAmbi 'earthworm', kimi 'hook-worm', ta:ca 'keys'. Note that in the case of vegetables and plants, the bundles denoted by this are not tied, whereas the classifier *thu* denotes a 'tied bundle' of such vegeta-bles etc. E.g., ni-pwãẽ pAlA: 'two small

untied bundles of spinach', ni-thu pAlA: 'two small tied bundles of spinach'. However, in the case of other objects like hair etc. it is immaterial whether the bundles are tied or not.

31.pũĩ This is used in two meanings :

(A) It denotes a very small tuft of hair, thread, wick, wool, grass etc. chA-pũĩ sÃ 'one small tuft of hair', ni-pũĩ agÃ:s 'two small pigtails of hair worn by men'. chA-pũĩ ka 'one small tuft of thread'.

(B) It also denotes small amounts of coag-ulated substances like curds, ear wax, nose mucus etc. chA-pũĩ dhAu 'one small amount of curds'. In this sense, *pũĩ* is a dimunitive form of *pãẽ*. In the sense of (A) above, it is a dimunitive form of pwãẽ.

32. phÃ: Denotes bunches of bananas. ni-phÃ: kera (phÃ) 'two bunches of bananas'.

33. phi Denotes a swath of fibrous or hairy material having roots spread over some area. It is also used in the case of dhu: 'a thick layer of dust'. ni-phi gwae 'two moustaches', chA-phi mikhaphusi 'one eye brow', chA-phi dhu: 'one thick layer of dust'. As a reduplicative adjective *phi* is also used to denote layers of moss, grass: phi phi wAthA 'layers of moss', phi phi ghãẽ 'layers of grass'.

34. gajA: Stands for bunches of things that are tied together by their outer covers or tips. e.g., kÃ:ni 'corn cob', laba 'garlic' cha: 'leek', su 'straw', pyaj 'onion'.

35. bA: Denotes layers of clothes and also layers of grime. chA-bA: wAsA 'one layer of clothes', khiti 'grime on the body'.

36. ju Denotes pairs or sets of objects of wearing. lakã: 'shoes', mwAja 'socks', cAp-pAl 'slippers', wAsA 'a set of upper and lower garments'. The noun, *pAnja* 'gloves' does not accept the classifier *ju* but takes *jwA:* instead.

37. jwAlA/jwA: Denotes pairs of sets of things not included under *ju*. E.g., makuli 'earrings', dwÃ: 'bullocks', pyakhÃ: Angu: 'a set of signet rings worn for dancing and

during festivals'.

38. dwÃ Used for unordered piles or heaps. E.g., ni-dwÃ alu 'two heaps of potatoes', pasi 'pears', jaki 'rice', andra bhwAri 'intestines', wAsA: 'clothes'.

39. pÃ Used for piles of flat objects arranged one above another. E.g., ni-pÃ chucū: mAri 'two piles of chapatis', marpa 'fried bread-sticks', rikabi 'plates', pusa 'covers, lids', kisti 'trays', lAptye 'leaves', A:pa 'bricks', sAphu: 'books'.

40. pucAlA/pucA: Denotes small heaps, gatherings or groups. ni-pucA: kAegu 'two heaps of peas', musya 'soy beans', hira 'diamonds', mwAti 'pearls', m'Anu:tA 'people', sApani 'small red ants', khwA:sĩ: 'chest nuts', khĕ: 'eggs'.

41. thwAlA/thwA: Used to signify groups of people. ni-thwA: mijÃ: mAca 'two groups of boys', chA-thwA: nepali 'one group of Nepalese'.

42.bAthanA/bAthã: Stands for groups of birds, animals, insects, and humans. Note that *thwA:* is used only for humans whereas *bAthã:* is used for groups of other animals also. ni-bAthã: cwA: 'two flocks of crows'. kisi 'elephants', ha 'bees', mAcatA 'children'. However, *bAthã:* stands for a larger group than that denoted by *thwA:*

The following classifiers denote 'units which lack structured wholeness' like pieces, loads etc. These were called 'quasi-unit counters' by Greenberg (1972).

43. ku Loads of things to be carried manually or mechanically. chA-ku sĩ 'one load of firewood', lA: 'water', kapA: 'clothes'.

44. ku: Pieces or sections of objects; ni-khu: nyã 'two pieces of fish', kek 'cake' pasi 'pear', kera 'banana', bhwÃ: 'paper', kapA: 'cloth', tA:kha: 'frozen meat'.

45. pãĕ Lumps and pieces of objects bigger than those denoted by *ku:*. chA-pãĕ la 'one lump of- meat', caku 'jaggery', lū 'gold', ca 'clay', sAu 'cow dung'.

46. phA: Lumps or pieces of raw meat that can be easily separated or cut (like at joints of the body). *phA:* denotes chunks larger than those denoted by *pãĕ*. chA-phA: la 'one large chunk of meat'.

47. patA: Splashes of semi solid things like bodily secretions, excreta, blood, mud. chA-patA: khi 'one splash of faeces',khAi 'phlegm', i: 'spittle', sAu 'cow dung', hi 'blood', na: 'mud'. *pãĕ* and *patA:* differ in the size and shape of the mass. For instance, sAu chA-pãĕ means 'a larger and rounder lump of cowdung' whereas sAu chA-patA: means 'a patch of splashed cowdung'.

48. dhikA/dhi: Denotes a compact mass. chA-dhi: waku 'one jaw', ni-dhi: kApae 'two masses of cotton', si: 'wax', bArAph 'ice'.

49. gwara Spheroid lumps modelled by hands. ni-gwara chucū: 'two globular lumps of wheat dough', caku 'jaggery', si: 'wax'.

50. khÃ servings of cooked rice. ni-khÃ ja 'two servings of cooked rice'.

51. pe Denotes mouthfuls of cooked rice, or beaten rice mixed with some soft substance like curds or meat. ni-pe ja 'two mouthfuls of cooked rice', dhau-bAni 'beaten rice mixed with curds', la-bA ji 'beaten rice mixed with meat'.

52. bhwa: Denotes mouthfuls of dry things like grains, beaten rice, sugar. ni-bhwa: bAji 'two mouthfuls of beaten rice', cini 'sugar', kÃ:ni 'corn'.

53. tyalA/tya: Lengthy lumps or logs. ni-tya: la 'two lengthy lumps of meat', khĩ 'faeces', sĩ 'wood'. lū 'gold'.

Notes

imply a 'sense of near succession'.

3. Alternant forms like dhuli/dhu: are available with some other classifiers also. In Newari there is a general rule by which the last syllable of an underlying form (usually historically an older form) is deleted on the

surface and the final vowel is lengthened when it is followed by another morpheme beginning with a consonant or silence. In the case of such morphemes,both the long and short forms are given.

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